42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg



of the girl's parents, or if he is a married man, both husband and wife remain where they are after the *lablabág* ceremony, namely in the house of the husband or in that of his parents.

### C. FAMILY LIFE

It is not rare to find two or more Isneg families living in one and the same house, as these are usually very roomy. And so it may take a long time before any of the married sons attempt to live elsewhere. This is also a boon to the old people, of course, as in this way they always find a home for their old age with one of their married children.

From now on the young wife will have little time for pleasure, and, although it would be wrong to call her a slave, in our eyes at least she will be leading the life of a drudge. She will be the first to begin work and the last to finish it. Every day she will have to prepare the meals and to clean the dishes; most of her mornings, if not her entire days, will be passed in the field; and when coming back home in the afternoon, she will have to comply with her usual household duties: pound the rice or grind the corn, and feed the hogs. Most of the time she will have to nurse a baby while attending to her other work, not that the little ones come in such quick succession, as usually at least a year and a half elapses between the birth of two children, and very often one or more of them die in infancy, but because the time of nursing is not confined to the first year of her babe: even children two and three years old may be found occasionally partaking of their mother's milk and using it as a supplementary food.

The husband on the contrary will find his married life to be very little different from what he had been used to before. His life may perhaps even appear lighter to him now than it was before he contracted marriage, as he will be mostly his own master, and he will not pass so many sleepless nights as when, as a young man, he was assiduously courting the girls, a custom that plays havoc with the health of a good many Isneg boys.

#### *1. Domestic Relationships*

The Isneg husband is the head of the family, and ultimate decisions are always taken by him; nevertheless the woman is no unimportant entity in the government of the house. An Isneg man rarely transacts any important business without the consent of the women folk, and he is usually humble and obedient at the smallest hint of his

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg



764 When the first outburst of lamentations, in the case of our dead
292 Isneg, has come to an end, the bystanders at once proceed to the preparation of the *inndt* or corpse. The latter is first stripped of its old clothes, and carefully washed and cleaned; after that it is wiped dry and finally dressed up in the best clothes available. Some natives do not even shrink from clothing the corpse in silk, if their means allow such luxury; at any rate, it would be utterly shameful to the Isneg not to dress a dead body decently. This latter performance is called *magpaar-armát* (transitive: *paarmattán;* from the stem *armát*, "garments"). As has been stated before, each garment is partially torn (*maxăyxáy*) at one side.

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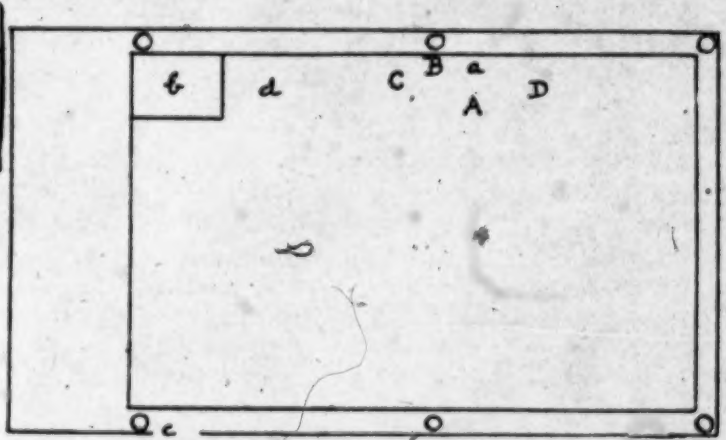


FIG. 3. FLOOR OF AN ISNEG HOUSE

A, Place of bier; a, place of the head of the *inndt*; B, place of the *inndt* in sitting posture; C, place of the *aróbon;* D, place of mourning relatives; b, hearth; c, door; d, place of woman in childbed.

764 In some places they insert a few *líbnó* herbs in the clothes of the
*inndt* for the following reason: on its way to the realm of the dead,
775 the *kadudúwá* is supposed to pass through a camote or sweet-potato field, in which there is a hut inhabited by an old woman, who is
772 intent on taking away from all passers-by their provisions and all their belongings; but if the latter have *líbnó*-herbs about their person, the old woman is powerless and they pass along unscathed.

764 In the meanwhile some others have been preparing the *tádag* or bier. The *tádag* consists of a certain number of entire bamboos, tied

with a row of feathers; a head band of small beads, *sajaban;* earrings, *lubay;* a necklace of larger beads, *ambusao;* red spangles hanging from back of the head, *bajuoyboy;* red spangles hanging on forehead, *pati;* small anklet beads, *pasag;* a bead wrist band, *sinali,* and a silver ring, *sankilat.* Her lips are made red with betel nut, *ma-ma,* and she makes a charming picture. The man also has a striking appearance, being dressed in his breechcloth or G-string, *abag;* red-embroidered black pull-on shirt, *baddo;* bag, *pulsa;* neckband with a handsome shell breast-piece, *bising;* and an ornamented head dress formed of red and blue cloth entwined in a turban, *linijot.* This is topped with odorous leaves.

The people have no knowledge of weaving or pottery making. They obtain their clothing, pots, salt, and other materials from Ilocano traders in exchange for their honey, beeswax, rope, baskets and mats.

## FAMILY LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS

The people live in substantially constructed houses which have artistic lines. The usual size is about 20 x 34 feet. In building a house, the four long, sturdy corner posts and two central side posts are first set in the ground. They are shaped from some very hard and durable timber such as *molave* or *ipil.* On these posts the structure is framed with heavy, hand-hewn lumber. The timbers are so neatly hewn with miter, bead, feather, and tongue joints that they do not require further fastening. The roof is finished first. Three heavy, well-braced trusses rest on the posts. Their bearing, or upper sides are hewn into an outward bow which will shape the roof in an equilateral

342 arch, and the end peaks of the ridge are extended out-
335 wardly to a remarkable distance. The roof line runs from these peaks in long, graceful inward curves down to the corners of the building. Two by four inch purlins spaced at about six feet are placed on the trusses; and over these are bent the two by two inch roof rafters, spaced at about a foot, on which is laid a mat of *runo* (a tall reed-like grass) stalks. On this support is fastened, shingle-fashion, a thick layer of *runo* tops, which have long leaves. This thatch will probably last for fifteen years before it needs renewal. Durable rattan is used for all fastenings. The two by twelve inch floor joists are set about a foot apart on heavy sills some twelve feet above the ground. The flooring is a mat of long lengths of pencil-sized round rattan. The floor sills are secured to the insides of
[352] the posts; while the wall sills are on the outside. The two-foot space between is finished in a low, raised platform running around the four sides of the room. This is used for sitting, and for storage of various articles, leaving the floor clear. The walls are of hewn inch boards placed perpendicularly and set in grooves cut in the top and bottom sills. There are three very small windows on each side of the house and one small door on one side toward an end. The wooden cover-
[417] ings of these openings, close flush with the walls. En-
[355] trance to the door from the ground is gained by a
[23] ladder which is pulled in at night. There are also several dogs which start howling at the slightest unusual noise. Thus, the occupants are quite secure from their enemies at night.

[352] There is little furniture in the house. On the
354 floor near one corner, opposite the door, is placed a

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*Grove of coconut, banana, orange, and betel-nut trees surround the houses so that they are not seen at a distance.*

low box about three feet square, filled with earth. In its center are set on end three long stones in a triangular position, which hold the clay cooking pot over the fire beneath. Fire is obtained by striking flint with steel and kindling tinder with the spark; or by rubbing two bamboo sticks together. There are also a round-bottomed iron frying pan and various paddles and ladles. Above the stove is a drying rack, and against the end wall are secured shelves which hold the old Chinese plates and other articles and materials. This end of the room is used for the kitchen, sometimes as the dining room, and as a general work shop. Woven sleeping mats are used, and there are chests for the securing of precious articles. Light from the fire furnishes illumination at night.

There should also be several lovely old ancestral Chinese jars, *gasi*, probably of the Ming dynasty period. In these is kept the *basi*, a pleasant wine made from the juice of the sugar cane. These ancient Chinese jars are much prized by the people. They have a typical shape, and range in size from one to three feet in height. Some of them have dragons and other figures embossed on them. Others have pictures of Chinese scenes and conventional patterns: this being especially true of the white jars with blue designs. They are glazed; some in lovely shapes of brown, yellow and blue. The people have quite a lore about them. There are a number of different varieties and different qualities in each variety. The *dordori* stands first; next is the *garadogod*. Some of the others are the *dinalasan, banaag, kindi-ingan, binilibil, boddi* and *sarang*. Much of the wealth of the Apayaos is held in these jars, together with the beads.

634 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 476 342 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They have common interests and often work together in exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 628 648 676 672 721 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *barangay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them. Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and [554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

## HEAD HUNTING

721 411 726 When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

773 it struck the sky. The sky became frightened and
821 raised up, causing a great commotion, and the trees were torn out of the ground.

776 To the family of Hatan, I will add the names of
[771] some other *anitos*. The tendency is for them to lessen in scope, in number, and in interest (i.e.—toward monagony). First I will mention some good *anitos*.

776 *Kaybacan* is the guardian of the house. A feast,
527 *pildap*, is given to him upon completion of a new house.
242 Small spears are placed there in the house where he stays. Whenever there is meat, a small portion is placed on the spears. Otherwise the family will get
[704] sick. No eels, deer, or mud fish are brought into the house; for the *anito* dislikes their smell and would run away, leaving the family to sicken and die.

776 *Pilay* is the guardian of the farm. He lives in
241 the granary. If a stranger touches it, he becomes lame. A small feast, *pespes*, is given to him at the beginning of the harvest.

*Ambungan* is the guardian of the rice harvest. Before harvest one must mix some burnt rice with shredded coconut and eat it under a certain big tree
[821] where he is. If the owner d[illegible] not do this, strong winds and rain will come and blow down the grain.

776 *Danag* is the guardian of the fishermen and hunters; while *Ayan* induces the wild pig to run into the trap; but *Siwasion* helps the wild pig and deer to avoid the hunters.

*Daguan* makes one strong to work, and *Manglanbang* is the guardian of the warrior; while *Panugatang* is the guide. *Sangasan* guards the entrance to the *barangay*.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg

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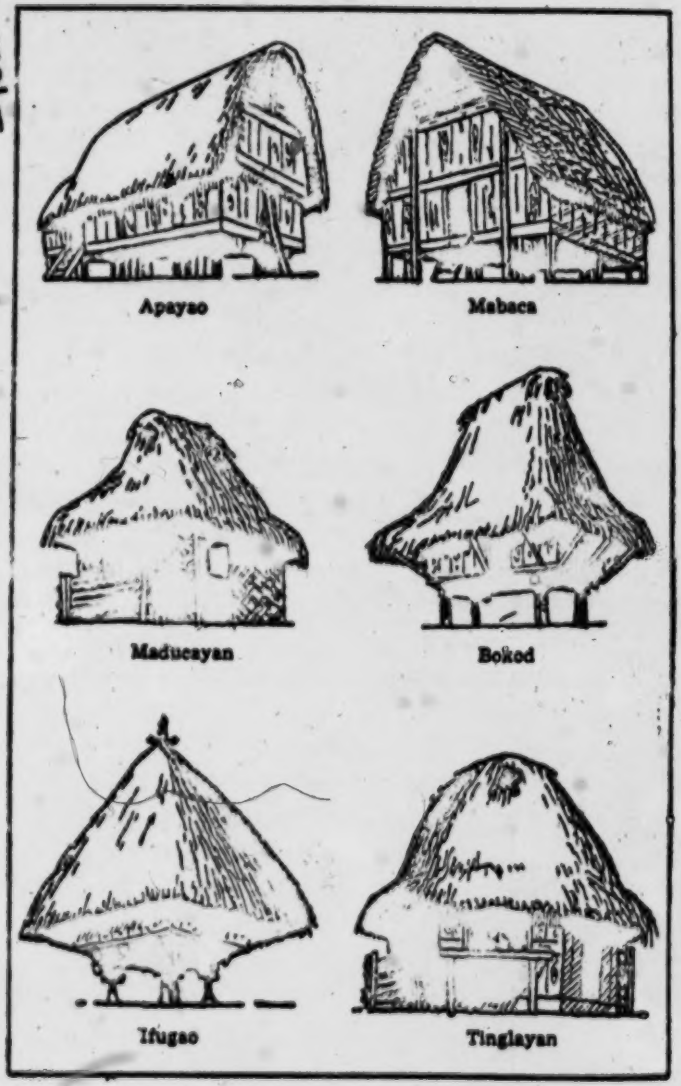


*Fig. 1.* — Representative houses of the Mountain Province.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Igorot OA20
Benguet
Apayao OA5
Isneg



on the joists, as are the four sills *(opop)* mortised into them which receive the wall-boards *(dingding)* in rabbeted grooves. About waist-high the walls are strengthened by a kind of moulding *(balkes)* running around the four sides, and the upper ends of the wall-boards are fitted into beams called *goanan* (the equivalent of the Ifugao *wanan)*. Small tie-beams or crossbeams *(anayasan)* run from side to side from front to back, resting on these *goanan,* and carrying two kingposts *(kalasod)* which support the ridgepole *(bobongan)*. The ridgepole is longer and the rafters *(dagat)* shorter in the Bokod house than in most Mountain Province houses, so the exposed walls are given protection by a wide-flaring set of eaves *(sibey)* requiring their own rafters *(tikel)* with supporting braces *(sedngal* or *tedmek),* three on a side. The proportions of the Bokod house make it possible to walk upright under the eaves, which is possible in only some of the Ifugao houses and none of the Bontoc houses. Moreover, the square floor plan characteristic of the Southern Strain is sometimes extended into a rectangle by the addition of posts or another girder or floor joist.

The characteristics of the Northern Strain can be seen at their most sophisticated in the ingenious Isneg house (Fig. 6) with its rafters bowed into the shape of a Gothic arch, its floor and roof supported on completely independent series of posts, and the floor itself having slightly raised platforms along both sides. The Isneg floor plan, in contrast to the square houses higher on the Cordillera, is conceived in an elongated form, the underpinning vaguely suggesting marine architecture to the layman, with girders sometimes exceeding 24 feet, thus doubling the longest timbers of the buildings of the Southern Strain.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA 19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg



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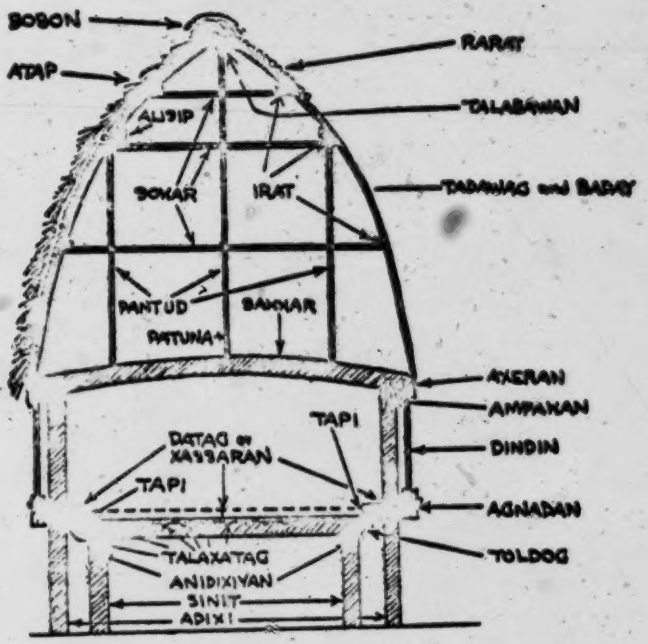


*Fig. 6.* — Isneg *binuron*-style house. The diagram is a composite of an unoccupied house built about 1905 in *barrio* Magabta, Kabugao, and another unoccupied house in *sitio* Malitaw, Namultugau, examined on 18-20 April 1956; terminology taken from "Isneg Buildings" by Morice Vanoverberg, CICM, *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (March 1953), pp. 77-108.

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Southern Strain. Each of these two long girders (*anadixiyan*) is mortised into the top of three posts (*sinit*) which elevate the floor to about the height of a man's shoulder, and across these girders are eleven floor joists (*toldog*). The actual flooring (*datag* or *xassaran*), however, is a mat of bamboo grass or rattan, and it rests on a series of thin laths (*talaxatag*) mortised into the upper surface of the joists, parallel, therefore, to the girders beneath. Also riding on the joists are two longi-

[824]

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg



tudinal beams or stringers *(tapi)* whose top surface is about three inches higher than the flooring and into which are mortised, at the same level, four longer crossbeams *(agnadan)*—two at one end of the house and two at the other—which protrude a foot of more beyond the ends of the joists. Mortised into the outer ends of these crossbeams are their horizontal equivalent, sills into which the base of the wall-boards *(dingding)* are rabbeted; and between these sills and the parallel stringers short laths are also mortised to support a sort of flooring platform or seat about a foot wide along both sides of the house.

A remarkable feature of the Isneg house is the way in which the roof is supported on posts which are set in the ground *outside* the floor-supporting posts but *inside* the wooden walls of the house, passing up through the little side platforms. These six posts *(adixi)* carry two longitudinal beams *(ampakan)*, while three crossbeams *(sakkar)* are mortised into either the posts themselves or the *ampakan*-beams. Fitted into the outer ends of these crossbeams are longitudinal beams serving both as a base for the rafters *(tadawag* and *baday)* and as the upper track for the wall-boards, the appropriate groove being deep enough to allow the boards themselves to be lifted up and slipped out of the lower groove so that the house can be converted into a kind of open covered platform. From the crossbeams also rise a kingpost *(patuna* or *pantud)* and two queenposts *(pantud)*, across which are three tiebeams *(sokar)* terminating in three purlins *(irat)* on each inner face of roof, which is a base of reeds *(rarat)* to which the grass roofing *(atap)* is lashed. The rafters themselves, alternately wood and reed, are bowed into a graceful arc, and rise to a ridgepole *(talabawan)*

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg



342 335 192 824 which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to protect the smoke holes in the gables.

341 342 335 [824] The Isneg house not being square in plan, its opposite ends are quite different from one another. At one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of [513] [562] this annex is slightly higher than even the little side platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even allowed to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side". [417] Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

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[104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

[105] Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Kalinga OA24
Apayao OA5



In the Mabaca Valley which flows along the northern edge of Kalinga Sub-Province on the Apayao border and into the lower Saltan River just before that stream joins the Chico River at Pinokpok are other houses of the "pure Northern Strain," — that is, elongated and gabled. They do not duplicate, however, the complexity of the Isneg roofposts interwoven, as it were, between the walls and floor joists, and they have front doors entering the end of the house opposite to the annex or lean-to which here is a distinct room serving the purpose of kitchen rather than a kind of open platform. A photograph of a Pinokpok house taken a half-century ago[100] shows the sills carrying the wall-boards to be mortised into the roof-supporting posts, three on a side, with two more posts in between these three rising to the roof inside the wooden walls. In upper Mabaca and Buaya, these "extra" posts which have not been merged with the wall structure do not appear, the houses being shorter and the weight of the roof being distributed by enlarged purlins the size of the ridgepole itself, one on each side. These sturdy purlins form the fulcrum across which the rafters are bent, giving the roof on close inspection the shape of two shallow arcs rather than the continuous graceful curve of the Apayao roof. The pressure thus brought to bear on the purlins requires them to be carried at both ends on posts just as sturdy as the other roof-supporting posts, standing just outside the walls of the house at front and back. In Conner district of Apayao, similar houses have these purlin-supporting posts worked into the gabled wall as an integral part by mortising.

[100] The author is indebted to Dr. H. Otley Beyer for making this and other photographs available.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Igorot OA20
Nabaloi
Bontok OA12
Philippines OA1



lects (e.g., Ilocano *balay*, Cagayan Negrito *bali'*, Ibanag *bale*) and pretty generally throughout the Philippines (e.g., Mandayan *baey*, Tagalog *bahay*) — to say nothing of far Polynesia (e.g., Hawaiian *hale*, Samoan *fale*). The Bontocs, however, call their houses *afong*.

*Bawi* is another pan-Montane word which certainly appears to be cognate with *bali*, yet in almost all dialects both words are present and the distinction between them consistent — *bali* is "house" and *bawi* is "hut". More specifically, a *bawi* is a temporary or casual shelter like a campsite; in no dialect is it applied to buildings permanently occupied as dwellings. An element of permanence is incidentally lent some of the *bawi* in the Bontoc area because of the fact that such look-out or omen-seeking campsites on the ridges outside the town limits were prominent features of warfare in the old head-taking days, and trips to such sites have nowadays been fossilized into religious ceremonies which make the *bawi* somewhat shrinelike. Travelers who find themselves in between settlements at nightfall or in the face of threatening thunder-heads may build a grass *bawi*, and so might workers who have to stay all day in the hot sun in the fields. In Apayao the same term is applied to the simple roof erected over a blacksmith's forge. But generally, huts which have even a small permanent role to play in the community life are not called *bawi*; in Kalinga and Apayao, for example, sheds or shelters in the fields from which children scare birds away from the crops are called *sigay*, and in Benguet *abulan*. The Nabaloi do not use the word *bawi* for a campsite hut as such, but have the term as a verbal stem which underscores its basic meaning — to

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
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Isneg
Kalinga OA24



Manangol, houses whose long girders are supported on six posts and houses whose floor joists are cut into the posts that support the roof are both called *'olub*. The big octagonal houses are called by various names (e.g., *kinipas* in Tanglag, *ginitob* in Dakalan), but *binayon* or *finaryon* is understood through most of Chico Kalinga. It may be noteworthy that the Isneg call their big houses, which are certainly anything but octagonal, *binuron*, and that while modern Kalinga informants distinguish their octagonal houses as being "round" or "eight-sided", older natives characterize them as "big and wooden". There is also a tendency in the common speech of eastern Kalinga and Conner district of Apayao to distinguish the big houses from the *kulub* as *balay*.

Comparison of the terminology of structural parts discloses only a few which are pan-Montane, and these happen also to be pan-Philippine. The cross-thatching which forms the ridging of the roof is called *bubong (bobon)* from Ifugao to Kabugao and the ridgepole supporting it *bobongan, panabfongan, pamabbongan, tampfongan, tappongan,* etc., while the Tagalogs apply the word *bubong* to the roof itself. The grass roofing (Ifugao *atop,* Bokod *atep,* Bangad *otop,* Isneg *atap)* shows up in distant Mindanao as Agusan Mandayan *atep* and Tiruray *atef,* and can even be recognized in Tagabili *kêtêf*. So, too, the walling of the house—it is *dingding* in Tagalog as all along the Cordillera from Apayao to Baguio, with variants like *diding* occuring as far apart as Sagada and Upi, Cotabato. Expert for these examples, however, Isneg architectural terminology has nothing in common with the rest of the Province, unless we hear an echo of their *talaxatag* in the *tarata* floor of the Bangad *'olub*. (It is to be noted, however,

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg



A 192 197 342 that the Isnegs also have a smaller house constructed in their plantations for seasonal occupation, whose shorter floor-supporting posts are called *tukid* like the pan-Montane *tokod*, and whose *bansag* bamboo flooring is surely cognate with the *basag*-flooring of the Salegseg house.) Below the roof, there are almost no pan-Montane terms. The Ifugao *bughol* (rafters) reach western Bontoc, and their *kuling* (girders) as far down the Chico as Bangad, while certain Kalinga terms have fairly wide local circulation (e.g., their *bat-ang* joists or *pongo* rafters), but a common feature like the two girders present a whole list of unrelated forms — e.g., from south to north, *ballangan, kuling, ina, pyayon, mamansangan, andixiyan* — and even the two stringers distinctive of the Northern Strain are variously called *tapi, anisil, fuchis,* and *kinalayan*. This variety is to be expected inasmuch as it was not house styles that were transmitted from one people to another, but individual features and building techniques, — for which reason the rather awkward term "strain" has been adopted in this paper rather than "style."

I 192 197 171 343 Granaries throughout the Mountain Province are called *alang* except in the Kankanay speech of the western shoulder of the Cordillera which shares the Ilocano *agamang*. The word *agamang* itself is rather mysterious, for the Ifugaos apply it to the communal segregated dormitories whether they occupy big *bale*-style houses or mere *abong*-huts, and the Ilocanos themselves — at least in La Union — distinguish another shape of granary (one with vertical rather than slanting sides) as *salosal*. In the absence of further data, perhaps the following flight of fancy might be entertained as a tentative explanation. *Agamang* was originally a kind of

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24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg



The side areas are naturally more used for storage than the center and sleepers lie across the center section with their heads pillowed on the upper (indeed, in Manangol the stringers are called *pongan*—pillow), but the urgency with which the northern architect works this feature into his houses is hard to explain by recourse to such minor considerations. Nor does it seem plausible as an incidental feature consequent to the peculiar Isneg interlocking floor joists and roof posts — to say nothing of the fact that the Apayao house would appear rather too complex to serve as the prototype of the other varieties bearing the Northern Strain. Rather, one would suspect some common parent from which the Kabugao, Mabaca, and Kalinga *kulub*-style houses sprang and matured independently. Perhaps a clue is to be found in the honor which was presumably afforded the end platforms in the old Isneg houses, and the origin of the two-level floor sought outside the Philippine archipelago.

## CONCLUSION

Two distinct types of simple houses were inhabited by the old swidden farmers of the Cordillera Central — the *abong*-style by the Kankanays and proto-Bontocs of the southwestern heights, a double lean-to built directly on the ground, and the *kulub*-style by the Kalingas of the northeastern foothills, a square bamboo shed with an entrance at ground level and a partial floor at two slightly different levels on an independent set of posts. An original granary-shaped house standing on three joists on two girders on four posts developed in Ifugao, and spread to Benguet (reaching the Inabaloi of the upper Agno valley only after they had already adapted for themselves a kind of lowland-style house), Lepanto and